

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7427

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, GW

SUBJECT: BUNDESTAG FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE, SEPTEMBER 13:  
CARSTENS' SPEECH AND BRANDT'S REPLY

REF: BONN 13219

1. SUMMARY: OPPOSITION CDU/CSU FRAKTION LEADER CARSTENS, SPEAKING IMMEDIATELY AFTER SCHEEL, JOINED IN WELCOMING THE RESULTS OF THE COPENHAGEN FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE. HE THEN LAUNCHED INTO A HARD-HITTING SPEECH FOCUSING ON SUBJECT OF EAST-WEST DETENTE, SHARPLY CRITICIZING THE BRANDT GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE IN OSTPOLITIK. BRANDT ROSE IN DEFENSE OF HIS POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND REBUTTED CARSTENS' CHARGE OF A "NEUTRALIZATION TENDENCY." END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER EMPHASIZING THAT THE CDU/CSU ALSO FAVORS STEPS TOWARD DETENTE, CARSTENS PROCEEDED TO SET FORTH FIVE ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS WHICH, HE SAID, THE FRG AND THE WEST MUST ADHERE TO AND WHICH, HE  
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CHARGED, THE BRANDT GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN NEGLECTING.

3. CARSTENS SAID THESE PRINCIPLES ARE: (1) THERE MUST BE A BALANCE IN THE CONCESSIONS OF EACH SIDE. SO FAR, HE ASSERTED, THE FRG HAS LOST MUCH MORE THAN IT HAS GAINED IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST. (2) THE FRG MUST INSIST ON CLEAR RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF GERMAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND UNIFICATION. CARSTENS CALLED ON BRANDT TO MAKE "AN APPROPRIATE, BUT CLEAR STATEMENT" ON THIS IN THE UNGA AND TO DRAW THE UNGA'S ATTENTION TO THE SHOOTING OF EAST GERMANS TRYING TO ESCAPE THE GDR. (3) A POLICY OF DETENTE MUST WORK TOWARD INCREASING, NOT DECREASING, THE ENJOYMENT OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS. "HUMAN RIGHTS MUST TAKE PRIORITY OVER THE NATIONAL JURISDICTION CLAIMS OF OTHER COUNTRIES." AS FAR AS HUMAN RIGHTS ARE CONCERNED, CARSTENS STATED, THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION IN OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS IS 50 YEARS OUT OF DATE. CARSTENS SAID HE FOUND IT STRANGE AND "TRAGIC" THAT BRANDT, A FORMER MAYOR OF BERLIN, HAS APPARENTLY BECOME RELUCTANT TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AJOAD OUT OF FEAR OF HINDERING DETENTE. NOR COULD HE POSSIBLY AGREE WITH BRANDT'S STATEMENT OF SEPT 12 THAT THE FRG WOULD BE PURSUING DETENTE WITH THE USSR TODAY EVEN IF STALIN WERE STILL LEADING THE SOVIET UNION. (4) WEST BERLIN MUST BE INCLUDED IN ALL TREATIES WITH THE EAST, TO THE EXTENT THERE ARE NO ALLIED RESERVATIONS. THIS WAS NEGLECTED, HE CHARGED, IN THE FRG-USSR TREATY AND THE INNER-GERMAN AGREEMENT. THE PRINCIPLE MUST BE MADE EXPLICITLY CLEAR ONCE AND FOR ALL. (5) NATO AND WESTERN EUROPEAN UNITY MUST TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER EFFORTS TOWARD DETENTE. THE WEST MUST BE IN AGREEMENT ON HOW AND WHERE TO PROCEED IN PURSUING DETENTE. THIS IS NOT THE CASE, AS SHOWN BY FRENCH NON-PARTICIPATION IN MBFR DISCUSSIONS. THE FRG MSU SEEK AGREEMENT WITH FRANCE ON DETENTE POLICY, ESPECIALLY SINCE FRENCH WORRIES ARE THE SAME AS MANY WEST GERMANS HAVE.

4. HAVING DRAWN ATTENTION TO ALLEGED BRANDT GOVERNMENT SHORTCOMINGS AND SOFTNESS TOWARD THE EAST, CARSTENS QUOTED ONE OF A NUMBER OF JUSO STATEMENTS CALLING FOR US TROOP WITHDRAWAL, POINTED ONCE MORE TO BAHR'S SO-CALLED "FOUR-STAGE-PLAN", AND THEN STATED: "SURELY I DO NOT EXAGGERATE WHEN I CHARACTERIZE THIS AS A TENDENCY TOWARD NEUTRALIZATION." HE THEN CONCLUDED BY APPEALING TO THE GOVERNMENT TO FORGE A CLOSER UNITY WITHIN THE WEST, PARTICULARLY ON SECURITY POLICY, BEFORE BECOMING ENMESHED

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IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST.

5. BRANDT CENTERED HIS REPLY TO CARSTENS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND NEUTRALIZATION ISSUES, ACCUSING THE OPPOSITION OF PLAYING IRRESPONSIBLE PARTY POLITICS WITH BOTH. ASKING CARSTENS IF HE WANTED THE FRG TO SPEAK MORE LOUDLY THAN THE US ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BRANDT STATED HE AGREED WITH DR. KISSINGER'S REMARKS SEPT 7 BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE-NAMELY, THAT HE IS PERSONNALLY VERY

DISTURBED OVER RECENT EVENTS IN THE USSR BUT THAT THE US (AND FRG) AS STATES MUST CONCENTRATE ON INFLUENCING SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. ATTEMPTS TO INTERFERE IN DOMESTIC MATTERS ONLY REMOVE LEVERAGE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY AREA. MOREOVER, RELAXATION OF TENSIONS BETWEEN STATES IN THE LONG RUN CAN CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVED CONDITIONS WITHIN STATES. "IT IS A QUESTION OF PATIENT NEGOTIATION, NOT MORALISTIC LOUDMOUTHING."

6. BRANDT THEN VIGOROUSLY DENIED ANY "NEUTRALIZATION TENDENCY" IN THE FRG AND REBUKED THE OPPOSITION FOR "INTRODUCING AND NURTURING" SUCH SUSPICIONS, WHICH BRANDT CALLED A PARTY POLITICAL MANEUVER DETRIMENTAL TO FRG INTERESTS. NATO AND EC MEMBERSHIP REMAIN THE BASIS OF FRG POLICY. NEUTRALISM IS PERHAPS NOT A BAD WORD WHEN APPLIED TO SWEDEN AND SWITZERLAND HE SAID, BUT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR GERMANY OR WESTERN EUROPE.  
HILLENBRAND

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